CARL ALBERT CONGRESSIONAL RESEARCH AND STUDIES CENTER ENDOWMENT ACT

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION, ARTS AND HUMANITIES

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETY-SEVENTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

S. 1405

ENTITLED "CARL ALBERT CONGRESSIONAL RESEARCH AND STUDIES CENTER ENDOWMENT ACT"

AUGUST 4, 1982

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CARL ALBERT CONGRESSIONAL RESEARCH AND STUDIES CENTER ENDOWMENT ACT

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 4, 1982

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION, ARTS AND HUMANITIES,
COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:10 a.m., in room 4232, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Senator Robert T. Stafford (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senators Stafford and Nickles.

OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR STAFFORD

Senator STAFFORD. The Subcommittee on Education, Arts and Humanities will please come to order.

The chairman apologizes to our guests and my colleagues for the fact that I was detained at the Environment and Public Works Committee, which I also chair, for a few minutes before I could get down here.

The Subcommittee on Education, Arts and Humanities will hear testimony today on S. 1405, the Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center Endowment Act. This legislation, which was introduced by Senator Boren, will provide Federal matching money for the Carl Albert Congressional Research Center which has been located at the University of Oklahoma in Norman, Okla., since 1979.

As chairman of the Education Subcommittee, it is difficult for me to oppose any legislation which furthers the education or scholarship of students or teachers. However, given the actions by the administration and the Congress over the last year-and-a-half with regard to funding for Federal education programs, I must seriously question the necessity of enacting S. 1405 at this time.

Last year, the Senate passed legislation which prohibited the administration from funding centers established by the Higher Education Act of 1980 because Members of the Senate felt that these types of programs should be of a low budget priority in a year when needy students were having their student aid reduced significantly.

Personally, this Senator continues to hold the view that the Federal Government's primary responsibility is to our low- and middle-income students and their families through our Federal student financial aid programs, and not to institutions of higher education for institutional aid purposes.

In this particular case of the Carl Albert Center, I am sure the sponsors of this legislation have a great interest in increasing scholarship in the area of congressional affairs at the University of Oklahoma. However, the State of Oklahoma had the second largest budget surplus of all the States in fiscal year 1981—$287 million—according to our figures. Most recently, the Oklahoma State Legislature voted an across-the-board increase of 20 percent for education, including the University of Oklahoma. There are many States, including my own State of Vermont, in which the budgets for higher education have been cut due to difficult economic situations.

In the light of these statistics regarding Oklahoma's budget and the need to restrain Federal spending, I have to register my own serious concerns, about this legislation. However, I had the privilege of serving in the House while Carl Albert was its most distinguished Speaker. I regard him very highly, and I intend to listen very carefully to the witnesses today, the first of whom will be my colleague, the most distinguished Senator from Oklahoma, Senator Boren

Senator, welcome to the Subcommittee on Education, Arts and Humanities.

STATEMENT OF HON. DAVID L. BOREN, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA

Senator BOREN. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I want to express at the outset my sincere appreciation to you and to the subcommittee for scheduling this hearing on S. 1405, containing the same provisions as H.R. 3598 which has been passed by the House and which is a bill to authorize Federal matching funds for the endowment of the Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center.

I realize how crowded this subcommittee's legislative agenda is at this time, evidenced by the fact that you are chairing two hearings at once, literally, this morning, or at least commenced hearings of two different subcommittees at once this morning. Your efforts to speed consideration of this particular legislation is appreciated.

A number of witnesses are present this morning to provide the subcommittee with testimony relating to the Carl Albert Center. I especially want to thank my distinguished colleague from the House, Richard Bolling, chairman of the Rules Committee of the House, for taking time from a very busy schedule to appear here. Chairman Bolling, whose association with Speaker Albert goes back many years, is eminently qualified to provide the subcommittee an understanding of the House's action in honoring its only living former Speaker through the establishment of the Carl Albert Center.

In addition, I welcome my good friend and colleague from Oklahoma, Congressman Dave McCurdy, to this hearing. Congressman McCurdy, in whose district the Albert Center is located, introduced H.R. 3598 and did an outstanding job of guiding it through to final passage by the House of Representatives on November 5, 1981.

Also present this morning is Dr. Ronald Peters, director of the Albert Center and a member of the faculty at the University of Oklahoma. Dr. Peters will be able to provide indepth information on the center, and will, I am sure, be happy to answer any specific questions the subcommittee might have.

Finally, I am pleased that a distinguished panel composed of Professors Leuchtenberg, Rundell, and Malbin is present to further acquaint the subcommittee with the scope and purpose of the Carl Albert Center. Their expertise will contribute greatly to the hearing record and provide invaluable assistance to the subcommittee.

I will keep my own comments very brief, Mr. Chairman, so that you can hear from those who can provide more expert testimony from an academic point of view. I would like to begin by stressing the pride that we in Oklahoma have in the Carl Albert Center.

The center was established in 1979 at the University of Oklahoma by the Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education, and is dedicated to promoting instruction and scholarship in the study of the U.S. Congress. I would point out that the center will not only serve the academic needs of the State of Oklahoma but will be a national resource and a national center—hopefully, the national center for congressional research and research into the processes of Congress and the Office of the Speakership.

The center already boasts possession of numerous outstanding collections of congressional papers not only from Oklahoma but from other States as well, and will provide a regional and national repository to provide an extensive cross section of congressional experience.

H.R. 3598 would therefore assist in the expansion and development of the center, which is already a vital, functioning part of Oklahoma's higher education system. It is my hope that through passage of this legislation, the Albert Center will quickly take its place as a truly national center for congressional scholarship.

H.R. 3598, which was introduced in the House by all of the members of the Oklahoma congressional delegation in the House, and the companion bill which I have introduced in the Senate, by themselves provide only an authorization for Federal matching funds for the endowment of the Carl Albert Center. The decision as to whether actual appropriations will be made would, of course, still have to be made on a year-by-year basis.

I certainly understand fully the comments made earlier by the chairman of the pressing needs and the priorities which we must face in establishing budgets on a year-to-year basis and the shortage of Federal funds to meet the needs we already have. But I would point out that we are here talking about authorizing legislation, and the decision on the actual appropriation would still have to be made by us on a year-to-year basis.

Of particular importance in the legislation is the provision for a 50–50 matching requirement. This provision will provide an incentive not only for increased State support, but also will be extremely helpful in attracting the support from the private sector that we believe can be obtained.

It is precisely this kind of partnership, involving not only the Federal and State governments, but the private sector as well,

which I believe we should be encouraging at a time of limited Federal resources.

Mr. Chairman, it is my hope and expectation that enactment of this legislation will result in development of a national center devoted to excellence in the study of the Congress. There is a pressing need to promote and encourage such study, and in my opinion the Carl Albert Center can play an important role in that undertaking.

Mr. Chairman, again I want to thank you for scheduling this hearing and I express my appreciation to the other witnesses who will be appearing before you this morning.

Senator STAFFORD. Thank you very much, Senator. Knowing the schedules we are all trying to keep these days, the Chair would understand if you have engagements elsewhere. The Chair would invite you, if you wish, to join me up here on the dias, or whatever suits your convenience and needs.

Senator BOREN. I thank the chairman. I am going to have to leave at this point because we are trying to work on an amendment that has to be considered on the floor prior to 12 that is still in the drafting stages. So, I will have to beg your indulgence to be excused at this point, but I appreciate very much the opportunity to appear.

Senator STAFFORD. Thank you very much.

Senator BOREN. Thank you.

Senator STAFFORD. The next listed witness is the Honorable Richard Bolling, who is chairman of the House Rules Committee and a gentleman whom I have had the pleasure of knowing ever since I came here some 22 years ago.

Mr. Chairman, it is a pleasure to have you with us over on this side of the Capitol this morning, and I await your testimony.

STATEMENT OF HON. RICHARD BOLLING, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MISSOURI

Mr. BOLLING. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate your giving me this opportunity. I have a more or less conventional, brief statement that I would like to have included in the record.

Senator STAFFORD. Without objection, it will be included in the record as if read.

Mr. BOLLING. Frankly, I had intended to read it and answer questions if there were any, but I listened with care to your comments, which I understand well because of the current situation, and I dare to comment on them in terms of a rather unconventional approach to this proposal.

I happen to believe, after a number of years in the Congress with an opportunity to see what has been going on for quite a long part of that time and to work with Speakers, that the reason that the country is in the problem that it is, is that there is a lack of understanding of our institutions. Our institutions, including the Congress, but in particular the House of Representatives, are not well understood; they also do not understand themselves or the country very well.

So, I happen to believe that the furthering of the work of the Carl Albert Center has a great pertinence to the problems that we face today. I cannot think of a more important priority than that

we begin to figure out what has gone wrong in the country and why the relationship between the Federal Government, the State governments, the counties, and the cities has broken down into the kind of chaos that leaves the people very unsure that they trust their governments.

In fact, the reason that I am retiring from the Congress is not that I am tired of my job or that I have any political problems. I had none, which is really quite remarkable for me; I usually have a good many. I decided to retire simply because I wanted to devote full time to the study of the kind of work that is involved in the Carl Albert Center.

I would like to hastily say that I have no intention of doing it in that location. I am very fond of the former Speaker and I have been out there to see him and visit with him, but I have no connection and expect to have no connection with the center. I will be working in this area, and my first job will be in Boston rather than in Oklahoma City.

But I think it is urgent that we look very carefully at why our institutions are not succeeding. I think it is enormously complicated. I think it goes back to a situation that was similar in the founding of the country.

The Founding Fathers, virtually all of them young men—very experienced but also very educated and very theoretical as well as very pragmatic—tried once and failed dismally on an Articles of Confederation approach. And recognizing that their governments were not working and would not work, they devised a new approach, and the Senate, and I hope the House, will be celebrating the double centennial of the Congress, which came into being much later than did the country. That very remarkable shift is an illustration of the kind of flexibility that the Founding Fathers had.

Now, I happen to believe that we are at a period in this country where we do not need to change any of the great ideas of the Constitution, but we very badly need to modernize the relationships of our governments one to the other. I do not think we understand our own institutions—the ones we serve in—to a very great degree. I think that is particularly true of the House.

I am sure the Senator will remember that the House does have its complexities and its inabilities to deal with issues because of the particular relationship that Members have to their districts.

Therefore, I would plead with you that this center has an urgency that is not easy to recognize—an urgency that is well beyond the conventional approach to these things that honor individual Senators, and there have been a number of those, or occasionally a Member of the House.

I think it is urgent that the American Republic consider itself with great care, and I think a center of this sort would be invaluable. That is why I file my paper and make this statement, because I think the urgency is much greater than is given in a conventional plea for money to assist in honoring a great Speaker and to forward a good cause. I think this is an urgent, vital issue.

Senator STAFFORD. Well, Mr. Chairman, I think you are very persuasive. You have lost none of your ability to articulate a position, as I remember when I served with you in the House. I have lis-

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tened very carefully to what you say, and I think there is considerable force to it.

Once again, I invite you to stay if you care to. Suspecting you are as busy as we are, you will probably have to get back to the House.

Mr. BOLLING. I thank you very much and I much appreciate the opportunity to be before you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Bolling follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE RICHARD BOLLING, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MISSOURI

Mr. Chairman, members of the subcommittee, it is a pleasure to appear before you today on behalf of H.R. 3598, "The Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center Endowment Act." H.R. 3598 passed the House of Representatives last November. As passed by the House, the bill authorizes a maximum of $3 million in federal matching funds for contributions to the endowment of the Carl Albert Center. Matching would be on a dollar for dollar basis, and the period of authorization extends from fiscal year 1983 to fiscal year 1989.

This bill is patterned upon criteria established by this subcommittee in its consideration of the Humphrey-Dirksen appropriation in 1978. It is similar to other academic memorials and tributes which have been established by the Congress in recent years. Many of these precedents, as you are aware, lie on the Senate side, including in addition to the Humphrey and Dirksen appropriations, the Wayne Morse Chair, the Robert A. Taft Institute, the Ellender Fellowships, and the Truman Fellowships. The sole precedent on the House side is the funding provided by the Congress for the Sam Rayburn Library.

While H.R. 3598 is similar to these precedents, the Center which it seeks to support is not, nor is the man for whom that Center is named. Carl Albert was a great Speaker of the House of Representatives. His Speakership witnessed some of the most trying times in American history. The ending of the Vietnam War and the events surrounding the Watergate incident were our most serious post World War II crisis. In the House of Representatives, the Albert years saw the most significant reforms since the revolt against Speaker Cannon in 1910. Throughout this tumultuous period, Carl Albert was at the center of events. His steady hand and wise judgment served the nation well.

The Carl Albert Center houses Speaker Albert's papers. The value of this collection to the history of this period is enormous. For generations to come the Albert papers will be consulted by those who wish to understand what happed in America in the late 1960's and early 1970's. But Speaker Albert's papers are not the only collection which the Center is fortunate to possess. Indeed, it is only one among 40 congressional collections which the Center's archives include. To this repository the Center adds a unique academic program in congressional studies. It proposes to initiate a publications series on the Congress, to sponsor scholarly conferences and lectures, and to further develop and expand its archives. In short, it seeks to become a national center for the study of the Congress and the preservation of the historical record of the Congress.

At the present time the federal government supports seven presidential libraries. In its fiscal year 1983 budget request the Reagan Administration proposes an expenditure of $15.6 million for this purpose. The preservation of the historical record of the Congress is just as important as that of the Presidency.

In my time in the House of Representatives I have seen this Congress sponsor many worthy projects of an academic and educational character. I know of none, however, which has more merit than does the Carl Albert Center.

I have known four Speakers well. Carl Albert stands out as the Speaker who took the greatest scholarly interest in the House and the Congress. It is therefore fitting that the House of Representatives has chosen to honor his service in this way. The Carl Albert Center is not only a valuable national resource, it is a tribute to Speaker Albert and the office he held with such great distinction.

I am, therefore, proud that the House has acted to honor Carl Albert in this fashion, and hope that the Senate will concur in that judgment.

Senator STAFFORD. Thank you, sir.

The next witness will be Congressman Dave McCurdy of the House, who is, I understand it, from the district in which the Carl Albert Center is located.

Congressman, this may be the first time we have had a chance to actually meet each other, but I am delighted to have that chance. Welcome to the Senate Subcommittee on Education, Arts and Humanities.

STATEMENT OF HON. DAVE McCURDY, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA

Mr. McCURDY. Senator, I do want to express my deep appreciation for your taking time to conduct this hearing. I also want to commend the chairman of the Rules Committee, Mr. Bolling. You can understand why he has reached such a pinnacle of power and prestige, and is the foremost scholar on the House in the Congress.

If there are no objections, I have a statement I would like to enter into the record. I will summarize it, and be pleased to answer any questions you might have.

Senator STAFFORD. Well, whatever statement you have we will place in the record as if read.

The Chair has no questions this morning, Congressman. It is possible that my colleagues and I may have some questions that will occur to us after conferring on this matter which we may wish to submit to you in writing, if that is agreeable, for responses in writing.

Mr. McCURDY. If I might, I would like to summarize my testimony.

Senator STAFFORD. You certainly may.

Mr. McCURDY. I think there has been some misunderstanding as to the nature of this authorization that passed the House. This center carries the name of the former speaker, Carl Albert, but this is not a memorial, this is not a statue, this is not a celebration for a particular individual.

This is a center that will carry his name and the tradition and prestige with which the Speaker served, but it is foremost an academic and archival institution whose mission will serve the interests of the Congress and the American people.

We are proud of the service rendered to the House and to the Nation by Carl Albert, our only living former Speaker. The Speakership of the House of Representatives is one of only three constitutional offices in our Government. In the entire course of American history, only 48 men have been privileged to serve in this great office. In the past 40 years, only four men have served as Speaker.

Carl Albert, as you know, is a man of special distinction. A former Rhodes Scholar and national high school and college debating champion, he came to Congress in 1947 and rose to his party's leadership in 1955. He served first as majority whip, then as majority leader, and finally as Speaker.

In the face of a divided Government, an administration torn from within, and a country deeply divided, Carl Albert presided over the House fairly, firmly, and with honor. Twice, he stood next in line for the Presidency. At a time when his own personal interests might have been served by aggressive partisanship, Carl Albert placed the interests of the Nation first in insisting upon fairness to all.

Because Carl Albert loves the Congress, its traditions, its prerogatives and its constitutional responsibilities, it is fitting that this academic body is dedicated solely to the study of the Congress. Rarely has a program come to Congress with such an established footing and direct claim to congressional attention. With Federal support, the Carl Albert Center will be well on its way to a place of national distinction as a forum for the study of Congress and the preservation of its record.

There is no doubt in my mind that Members of Congress and scholars of the Congress can benefit from the work of the Carl Albert Center. The services it will provide to Members in the processing of their papers alone could equal the amount of the requested authorization. Furthermore, the Carl Albert Center will provide a forum for scholarly study of legislative issues and processes which often have been neglected.

Mr. Chairman, I urge this subcommittee to join the House of Representatives in honoring our former Speaker and supporting the only national center devoted exclusively to the study of the Congress.

There has been some question raised as to the amount of money, and I agree that we are faced with some very difficult budgetary constraints. I have been a very nonpartisan supporter of the President in many of the programs in the Economic Recovery Act, in the hope that we might set this country straight.

But we are talking about matching funds, and when former President Ford and a number of dignitaries made the decision to serve on the board of this distinguished center, they too realized the overall benefit—the historical benefit—and the precedent established by the establishment of this center.

I might also add that we are talking this fiscal year of less than half a million dollars in matching funds—right at $350,000. So, I think we are getting a bargain here. I believe that the Congress and our Nation will be very well served and that we will be getting our money's worth by authorizing funds for this fine institution.

Again, Mr. Chairman I want to tell you how much I appreciate your attention; also, the statement of my senior Senator, Senator Boren, and the distinguished chairman of the Rules Committee.

Senator STAFFORD. Thank you very much, Congressman. We appreciate your statement before the subcommittee. I would invite you to remain, as you may wish, or leave if other demands on your time make that necessary.

Mr. MCCURDY. Again, thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. McCurdy follows:]

Testimony of Rep. Dave McCurdy
Subcommittee on Education, Arts, and Humanities
Committee on Labor and Human Resources
U.S. Senate
Washington, D.C.
August 4, 1982

Mr. Chairman, it is a pleasure to appear before you today on behalf of the entire Oklahoma House delegation in support of H.R. 3598, "The Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center Endowment Act."

We are proud of the service rendered to this House and to the Nation by Carl Albert, our only living former Speaker. The Speakership of the House of Representatives is one of only three constitutional offices in our government. In the entire course of American history, only 48 men have been privileged to serve in this great office. In the past forty years, only four men have served as Speaker.

Carl Albert is a man of special distinction. A former Rhodes Scholar and a national high school and college debating champion, he came to Congress in 1947 and rose to his party's leadership in 1955. He served first as Majority Whip, then as Majority Leader, and finally as Speaker. In the face of a divided government, an administration torn from within, and a country deeply divided, Carl Albert presided over the House fairly, firmly, and with honor. Twice he stood next in line for the Presidency. At a time when his own personal interests might have been served by aggressive partisanship, Carl Albert placed the interest of the nation first in insisting upon fairness to all.

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Mr. Chairman, I urge this Subcommittee to join the House of Representatives in honoring our former Speaker and supporting the only national center devoted exclusively to the study of the Congress.

Senator STAFFORD. Thank you, sir.

We now have a panel and the Chair would invite the members of the panel to come to the witness table, if they will: Professor Peters, Professor Rundell, Professor Malbin and Professor Leuchtenburg, and my apologies if I have mispronounced names.

Good morning, gentlemen. I suggest we go through the panel in the order in which I have called your names. So, I would invite the first member of the panel, Dr. Ronald M. Peters, director of the Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center at the University of Oklahoma, to go first, to be followed by Prof. Walter Rundell.

Dr. Peters?

STATEMENT OF RONALD M. PETERS, JR., DIRECTOR, CARL ALBERT CONGRESSIONAL RESEARCH AND STUDIES CENTER, UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA, NORMAN, OKLA.; WALTER RUNDELL, JR., PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND, COLLEGE PARK, MD.; MICHAEL MALBIN, AMERICAN ENTERPRISE INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC POLICY RESEARCH, WASHINGTON, D.C.; AND WILLIAM E. LEUCHTENBURG, WOODROW WILSON INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR SCHOLARS, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, WASHINGTON, D.C., A PANEL

Dr. PETERS. Thank you, Senator. I have submitted a written statement for the record which attempts to provide more detail for you about the specific structure and function of the Carl Albert Center.

Senator STAFFORD. We will place the full written statement in the record.

Dr. PETERS. Thank you.

In the time that I have allotted to me this morning to speak with you, I would like to address myself, if I could, to what I take to be the central question that faces the subcommittee on connection with this legislation, which, as I see it, is will there be a national center for the study of the Congress and the preservation of its history or not?

At the present time, the Federal Government provides funding for seven Presidential libraries. In the administration's fiscal 1983 budget request, $15.6 million is allotted for that function. Those li-

braries serve vital national purposes. They serve to preserve the historical record of the Presidency and they serve to enhance public understanding of the Presidency as an institution and of the specific administrations of the Presidents involved.

At the University of Oklahoma, we have been fortunate over a period of several decades to accumulate an archive which is among the half dozen largest and we think best congressional archives in the country, numbering the papers of 40 former Members of the Congress.

About 3 years ago, we decided to take the initiative to develop this archive and to combine it with academic programs so to develop a national center for the study of the Congress. Our proposal was brought before the State Legislature of Oklahoma. We chose to name the center in honor of the service of former Speaker Albert, an alumnus of the University of Oklahoma.

The State regents for higher education in Oklahoma and the State legislature were responsive to this proposal. They saw, as we saw, that here was an opportunity for the University of Oklahoma to undertake a project that would not only serve the interests of the State of Oklahoma but would be of national scope and consequence and which could serve genuine national needs.

Now, in undertaking this proposal at that time, we were, of course, aware of the fact that there were a variety of precedents for congressional funding of academic institutions of this sort.

In the year preceding the development of our proposal, this subcommittee authorized, and there was appropriated, $5 million for the Hubert H. Humphrey School at the University of Minnesota, and $2.5 million for the Everett McKinley Dirksen Congressional Leadership Center in Pekin, Ill.

Other memorials and centers funded during the decade of the 1970's included the Alan Ellender Fellowships, the Wayne Morse Chair of Public Affairs at the University of Oregon; the Taft Institute; the James Memorial at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama; and there were others.

So, we believed it to be the case and we thought it a reasonable proposition that by taking the first step in the direction of developing a national center for the study of the Congress, the State of Oklahoma might reasonably anticipate the possibility that the Congress would itself choose to lend support to this project.

With that in mind, in 1981 we introduced into the House of Representatives H.R. 3598, the bill which now lies before this committee. The House of Representatives, by a bipartisan majority, was supportive of this effort. The result is that there now lies before your subcommittee a House-passed bill honoring former Speaker Albert by authorizing a maximum of $3 million in Federal matching funds.

Now, the question, as I see it, is Is this an appropriate kind of institution for the U.S. Congress to fund within its own genre? It seems to me that one can make the case that the Carl Albert Center serves the genuine needs of this Congress and of the country in as clear and precise a manner as can be imagined.

At a time when, as Mr. Bolling has indicated in his testimony, there exists widespread confusion and lack of public understanding about the Congress and its processes, it seems appropriate to us

that there be a national center devoted to the study of the Congress which, through the development of its archives, publication series and academic programs, can serve this need.

Now, the question arises as to whether or not congressional funding, if it is appropriate, is necessary for the development of the Carl Albert Center. And from our point of view, it seems to us that it is unreasonable to expect private contributors or the State of Oklahoma or anybody else to enlist themselves solidly in support of the development of a national center for the study of the Congress unless the Congress by its own action indicates that such a center would serve useful national and congressional purposes.

The present legislation was drafted to conform with the criteria established by this subcommittee at the time of the Humphrey-Dirksen appropriations in 1978. It is a matching bill which expresses through its authorization the commitment on the part of the Congress that a national center for the study of the Congress is useful and important.

With this legislation in hand, we hope to be able to generate private and public support for the continued development of the center. I do not think it is realistic, however, to expect us to generate the same level of support if the Congress, through its failure to pass this legislation, indicates that such a center is not a priority for it.

Therefore, I return to the question which I had originally posed. The question, it seems to me, is not whether the Congress will provide financial support for an educational institution in the State of Oklahoma. The question is whether that institution in the State of Oklahoma will be capable of reaching its full potential and developing into a center which can genuinely serve national and congressional purposes.

As one who has been involved in the development of this center from the very beginning and as one who has been involved in trying to raise funds for it in the private sector, it is my strong belief that the support of the Congress is necessary if such a center is to exist. And if that is true in the State of Oklahoma, I would assume that it is true elsewhere.

Therefore, I think that the question that the subcommittee faces on this issue is not the narrowly defined question of whether this center is going to be developed. In my judgment, you are not likely to find a better opportunity at a more reasonable price to assist in the development of a center that will as clearly serve the needs of the Congress as this center now does and will continue to do.

So, I hope that the subcommittee will support this legislation. I hope it will give to us in Oklahoma the opportunity to further develop the center to the point where it can genuinely be one which serves the needs of the Congress and the needs of the country.

I would be happy to answer any questions that you may have for me about any specific aspect of the center or its operation.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Peters follows:]

Testimony of

Dr. Ronald M. Peters, Jr.

Director

Carl Albert Congressional Research

and Studies Center

before the

Subcommittee on Education, Arts, and the Humanities

of the

Committee on Labor and Human Resources

United States Senate

August 4, 1982

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My name is Ronald M. Peters, Jr., and I am the Director of the Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center at the University of Oklahoma.

Mr. Chairman, members of the subcommittee, it is a pleasure to be able to speak before you today on behalf of H.R. 3598, a bill to authorize federal matching funds for contributions to the endowment of the Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center at the University of Oklahoma. The Carl Albert Center was established in 1979 by the Oklahoma Regents for Higher Education pursuant to a joint resolution of the Oklahoma State Legislature. The Center was established to honor former Speaker Carl Albert by taking advantage of the unique opportunity afforded to Oklahoma to become a national leader in the area of Congressional studies. For decades the University, through its Western History Collection, had gathered one of the largest collections of congressional papers in the country, perhaps the largest at any major American university. The University of Oklahoma Congressional Archives numbers the papers of 40 former members of Congress, including those of 13 senators and 27 representatives. Included among these collections are the papers of such prominent Oklahomans as Speaker Albert, Robert S. Kerr, Page Belcher, Dewey Bartlett, Mike Monroney, and Fred Harris, and those of such prominent non-Oklahomans as Helen Gahagan Douglas of California and Andrew Biemiller of Wisconsin.

In establishing the Carl Albert Center, the State and University combined these distinguished archives with academic programs at the graduate and undergraduate levels. These programs include a specialized Ph.D. program in congressional studies and an undergraduate area concentration on the Congress, both offered as a part of the academic program in the Department of Political Science. Admitted to it each year are two Carl Albert Fellows, selected on the basis of a nationwide competition. Each Carl Albert Fellow receives a five year package of financial support leading to the Ph.D. which includes three years of teaching and research assistantships, a one year congressional fellowship offered in cooperation with the Congressional Fellowship Program of the American Political Science Association, and a dissertation year fellowship. Carl Albert Fellows enroll in a series of four courses related to the Congress, and are expected to write their dissertations in some area of congressional studies. They will emerge from the Carl Albert program with teaching, research, and practical experience, and will typically aim for careers in teaching or public service. To date the Center has admitted eight Carl Albert Fellows, from Arkansas, Colorado, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Missouri, New York, Oklahoma, and South Dakota.

At the undergraduate level, the Center's congressional studies area concentration is open to any undergraduate at the University. It requires a three course sequence on the Congress, and the writing of an undergraduate researach paper on a topic related to the Congress. To date over 30 students have chosen to enroll in this area concentration. In addition, the Center now sponsors in cooperation with the Cortez A.M. Ewing Foundation the Ewing Fellowship Program, which places five undergraduate students in congressional offices as interns each summer. For the future, the Center is planning to expand its undergraduate fellowship program to include participation in the Washington Semester Program of American University. Thus, both at the graduate and undergaduate levels the Center provides opportunities for its students to study and serve the Congress.

To serve these academic programs the Center is staffed by three full-time political scientists including myself, Dr. William Thomas Wander from Stanford University and Dr. Gary Copeland from the University of Iowa. My own research focuses upon the Speakership of the House, in support of which I have received a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Dr. Wander is a specialist on the Congressional Budget Process, and he is presently working on a comprehensive study of the enactment of the Budget Impoundment and Control Act of 1974. Dr. Copeland is a specialist in congressional campaigns and elections, and his research focuses upon campaign financing and its effects on congressional elections. To support these and other research activities the Center plans to develop a comprehensive research collection on the Congress as a supplement to its Congressional Archives. Our intention is to provide a place where serious congressional scholars will have at their disposal all necessary library resources for congressional research.

In addition to these programs of research and instruction the Center plans to sponsor related academic activities. During the past year we have sponsored lectures by such distinguished scholars as Professor Charles S. Hyneman, past-president of the American Political Science Association, Dr. Thomas Mann, Executive Director of the American Political Science Association, and Dr. Michael Malbin of the American Enterprise Institute. In addition, the Center has sponsored lectures by United States Senators David Boren, John Danforth, and Paul Tsongas, and by U.S. Representatives David McCurdy and Tom Daschle. In February, 1982 the Center sponsored its first conference, which focused upon the congressional budget process and its effects on the Congress. Among the participants were former Senator Henry Bellmon, Representative David O'bey, Representative Mickey Edwards, former O.M.B. Director James McIntyre, and several scholars and congressional staff-members. The papers and proceedings of this conference are now being prepared for publication. Finally, the Center will inaugurate in 1983 the Julian J. Rothbaum Distinguished Lectureship in Representative Government. The Rothbaum Lectureship will be given biennially, and the first Rothbaum Lecturer will be former House Majority Whip John Brademas, now President of New York University.

In the development and planning of these academic activities the Center is served by its National Advisory Board, comprised of distinguished members and former members of the Congress, political scientists, historians, and members of the corporate community. The twenty two members of the Board include: Former President Ford; Speaker O'Neill; Senator Bellmon; Senator Boren; Majority Leader Jim Wright; former Minority Leader John Rhodes; President Brademas; former representative Tom Steed; Librarian of Congress Daniel Boorstin; Tom Mann, Executive Director of the American Political Science Association; William Leuchtenburg, Dewitt Clinton Professor of History at Columbia University; Richard Fenno, Kennan Professor of Political Science at the University of Rochester; Robert F. Peabody, Professor of Political Science at Johns Hopkins University; Gilbert Fite, Richard B. Russell Professor of History at the University of Georgia; Frank Mackaman, Executive Director of the Dirksen Center; Richard Baker, Senate Historian; Barbara Hinckley, Professor of Political Science at the University of Wisconson; Marcus Cohn, Cohn and Marx, Washington, D.C.; Jess Hay, Lomas and Nettleton Financial Corp., Dallas, Tx.; Joel Jankowsky

Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer, and Feld, Washington, D.C.; Michael L. Reed, Timmons and Co., Washington, D.C.; and Julian J. Rothbaum, Frances Oil. Co., Tulsa, Oklahoma.

In the years ahead the Center plans to expand upon these academic activities and further develop its archives. We now anticipate nine concrete steps in our plan to develop at the Center the nation's finest and most accessible congressional archives. These steps include: (1) the processing of current permanent collections; (2) the acquisition of new permanent collections; (3) processing agreements for visiting collections; (4) the development of exhibits and an exhibition area; (5) the development of educational packages for primary and secondary educational use; (6) the development of processing manuals for use by other repositories; (7) the development of office organizing manuals stating principles applicable to later preservation of papers; (8) the development of search strategies for large collections and archives making use of random sampling techniques; and (9) the publication of inventories of our permanent collections for library distribution.

These plans emphasize the use that an archival operation such as ours can be to a variety of constituencies, including the general public, educational institutions, other research collections, individual scholars, and not the least importantly, Congress itself. While the nation is well served by the existence of seven major presidential libraries, there are at present no major libraries devoted solely and exclusively to the study of the Congress. Individual members of the House and Senate typically donate their papers to home town or home state libraries. Often such libraries are ill equiped and staffed to properly process and preserve large congressional collections. Even under the most optimistic assumptions about the quality of care, this practice inevitably leads to a situation in which collections are scattered around the country, making the task of researchers extremely difficult. In response to this problem, our plan is to develop the capacity to process visiting collections in return for the rights to microfilm selected parts of them. This arrangement will serve the needs of the Congress by insuring the professional processing and preservaton of members' papers; it will serve the needs of many state, university, and municipal libraries by providing a professional processing service; and it will serve the needs of scholars by providing a single location where they can come to accomplish substantial research. At the present time the federal government spends over $12 million annually to support the Hoover, Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and Ford libraries. Libraries for President's Carter, Nixon, and Reagan loom in the future. These presidential libraries serve vital public purposes. It seems as reasonable for the Congress to recognize the essential public purpose to be served by the preservation of its own historical record, and the inhancement of the public's understanding of its processes.

To support these activities, the Center and the University have undertaken an endowment drive. This effort was initiated on May 16, 1981 by a fundraising dinner in Oklahoma City honoring Speaker Albert. The dinner was hosted by President Ford, Speaker O'Neill, Governor George Nigh, and University of Oklahoma President William S. Banowsky. To date, the Center

has received commitments for approximately $350,000. The endowment drive aims to raise $3 million in contributions; the present legislation supports that commitment by authorizing a maximum of $3 million in matching funds for endowment contributions. The passage of H.R. 3598 will facilitate the solicitation of contributions, and will convey the sense of the Congress that a national center for the study of the Congress serves an important public purpose.

The Carl Albert Center does serve an important public purpose. In a democracy, it is vital that the public have an adequate understanding of its political institutions. Among American political institutions, the Congress is perhaps the least understood and most underappreciated. Congress has an important interest in the preservation of its record and in fostering public understanding of its processes. When the federal government is funding seven to ten major presidential libraries, located around the country and widely accessible to both scholars and the public, is it not equally as important that Congress act in its own behalf? And if it is to do so, should it not do so in as efficient a manner as possible?

H.R. 3598 does not call upon the Congress to establish a national center for the study of the Congress; instead, it presents to the Congress an opportunity to lend great credibility and minimal financial support to a Center which has already been well begun. In passing the Humphrey-Dirksen appropriation in 1978, this subcommittee explicitly defined two criteria for considering future requests. First, that the Congress not provide support for an institution that could not demonstrate a basis of support in the private sector; second, that the Congress not provide more than 50% of the capitalization of the project. H.R. 3598 conforms exactly to those two criteria. In addition, it satisfies a third, implicit, and more important criteria. That is that it addresses in a competent manner an undeniable public purpose clearly related to to the Congress and its role in the American political system. The Carl Albert Center is not just any institute; it is the only Center of its type devoted exclusively and comprehensively to the study of the Congress. If the Congress will not support a center devoted to Congressional studies, who will?

Granting the justifiability of the need the Center serves, and granting the appropriateness of Congressional interest, one must still face the question of the relative importance that should be placed on this request, as opposed to the many other claims on the federal dollar. This question of priorities, which always arises, is particularly relevent in the present climate of fiscal restraint. Recognizing this fact, H.R. 3598 has been drafted to include a relatively long period of authorization, extending from fiscal 1983 through fiscal 1989. The Congress will, through the budget and appropriations process, be able to decide on a year to year basis, whether funding can in fact be provided. In the meantime, the passage of H.R. 3598 will be of enormous assistance to us in our fundraising efforts.

The House of Representatives, recognizing this need and acknowledging these efforts, has acted to honor its former Speaker; we hope that the Senate will concur.

Senator STAFFORD. Thank you very much, Dr. Peters.

Next, we will hear from Prof. Walter Rundell, Jr., department of history, University of Maryland, College Park, Md. You are not so far from home as the other witnesses.

Dr. RUNDELL. No. It was very convenient to get down here.

Senator STAFFORD. You will be followed by Dr. Michael Malbin of the American Institute for Public Policy Research in Washington, D.C. I see you have the shortest distance of any of them to travel.

Dr. MALBIN. A Metro ride, yes.

Senator STAFFORD. Dr. Rundell?

Dr. RUNDELL. Thank you. In addition to my academic appointment, I am also past president of the Society of American Archivists, president-elect of the Western History Association, and also vice president of the U.S. Capitol Historical Society.

The idea of the Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center is excellent, deserving the bipartisan support it has already received in the House of Representatives. The Albert Center, which combines academic instruction with the gathering of Senators' and Representatives' papers, is already an important national institution, but it needs congressional assistance to achieve its full potential.

From my own days as professor of history at the University of Oklahoma, I know that the congressional papers housed then in the university's manuscript collection were a highly valuable resource for research. Not only did the papers attract students from the campus and nearly areas, but also from the Nation at large.

The creation of the Albert Center brings together the vital archival function with the teaching element, and it is this combination that I think makes it so very important. The combination clearly makes the center one of national stature, equally important, certainly, to a Presidential library.

Having been president of the Society of American Archivists, I know how effective it is to have students, both graduate and undergraduate, regularly using archival collections. The collections that exist within an academic structure on a campus have a high rate of use, thus offering excellent justification for their financing.

Currently, the U.S. Capitol Historical Society cooperates with the Catholic University of America in offering graduate work in congressional studies, but it has no archival dimension. This program, one of the first in the country, has filled a definite need, but it by no means exhausts the possibilities for such academic work.

It is important for these programs to be available in geographically diverse areas, thus strengthening the Federal nature of American higher education. The central geographic setting of the Albert Center, with its two-fold purpose, enables it to serve the heartland of America and thereby perform a great national service.

To insure the appropriate growth and maturation of the Center, dedicated to teaching how Congress works, the Senate can join with the House in providing the necessary funding.

One aspect of the Albert Center's program that is particularly attractive is the provision for processing and arranging any congressional papers offered. Many potential repositories do not have the facilities to do this highly technical work properly, so should welcome the availability of this service from the Albert Center. In this

respect, the center would be performing a genuinely national function.

I would offer this advice, however. In dealing with Members of Congress, the center should urge them to make the ultimate donation of their papers to repositories that are already established as research centers. Every State has at least two—the State university and the State historical society.

The understandable inclination of Members of Congress is to want their papers at their alma mater or home town library, even when such institutions are not equipped to handle them. Senator Tom Connally, for instance, came from Marlin, Tex., but it would have been inappropriate to have his papers there where they would have been inaccessible to researchers.

The Albert Center, in return for processing congressional papers, plans to keep a microfilm of each collection, thus creating holdings of national scope. Already, the collections from California, Utah, Wisconsin, Kansas, and New Mexico make this center more than regional. With this microfilming program, it has the potential for becoming an important national center for the study of Congress.

The benefits of such a center are many. The functions of Congress could be effectively studied through the diverse documentation of many congressional collections, plus the university's fine Government documents collection. Now, individual congressional careers can be studied through the collection of one Member of Congress. But with the addition of collections from around the Nation, broader research can be undertaken. Composites may be drawn and correlations may be made that would otherwise have been impossible.

Just as scholarly studies of this nature would benefit congressional understanding of its own operations, scholars would have the considerable resources of the center at their disposal. As visiting researchers come to the center, the faculty and students at the University of Oklahoma would be enriched by the interactions, as would the visitors.

Also, any extension of the knowledge of how our Government institutions work has wide benefits to the lay public. This underscores what Congressman Bolling said earlier—the understanding of our institutions. Congress generously supports other research institutions—notably, the Presidential libraries. Just as these have increased the public's knowledge of the Presidency, the Albert Center can add to our knowledge of how Congress functions. Congress should certainly be as interested in promoting a knowledge of its history and operations as it is in promoting that of another branch of the Government.

Money, of course, is always short, now more than ever, but the legislative branch of our Government must be studied through all economic climates. The Albert Center offers a great opportunity for effective study that has national benefits. The Senate should join the House in seizing this opportunity to promote national understanding of congressional operations.

Thank you.

Senator STAFFORD. Thank you very much, Dr. Rundell. You may take this as an insult or a compliment, but if I closed my eyes, I

could have thought I was listening to Howard K. Smith, who used to be on ABC.

Dr. RUNDELL. That has been said before. I take it as a compliment. [Laughter.]

Senator STAFFORD. Next, we will hear Dr. Michael Malbin, who will be followed by Prof. William E. Leuchtenburg, and I hope I pronounced that somewhere near correctly.

Dr. LEUCHTENBURG. My mother's name was Lauretta Cecelia McNamara, Senator, and the best she was able to do with it was "Leuchtenburg."

Senator STAFFORD. All right. Dr. Malbin, we are ready to hear you.

Dr. MALBIN. Mr. Chairman, my name is Michael Malbin and I am a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research.

Senator STAFFORD. Would you pull the microphone up a little closer, please?

Dr. MALBIN. I am a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, where I am part of AEI's project on the study of Congress. AEI, as you know, is a nonprofit educational institution that takes no positions as an organization on bills before Congress, and neither, for professional reasons, do I endorse or oppose specific bills.

Nevertheless, I consider it a pleasure and an honor to be here today to discuss my views on the Congress and the manner in which a study of the Congress can be served by the development of a national center for congressional research and studies, such as the Carl Albert Center, why I consider such study important, and what is the Congress and the Nation's interest in having such a center.

Mr. Chairman, I have been writing about Congress for 10 years now as a scholar and a journalist, and I have been struck in that time by how little attention scholars and journalists give to the way in which Congress of today evolved from the institution of years past. As a result, there is relatively little serious attention paid to the way the institution functions.

At the present time, AEI is actively seeking to promote the scholarly examination of Congress and its historical background. As a person who is engaged in that, I can testify on the basis of my experience that the study of Congress and its history is not presently well served at all by the existing institutional support. Some beginnings are being made, but there is a long, long way to go.

A person who is interested in the study of the Presidency has at his disposal seven major Presidential libraries supported by the Federal Government. A person interested in the Congress has no corresponding resources available to him.

The Carl Albert Center archives are already among the largest and best in the country. Although named for a former Speaker, the center includes important archives for both Senate and House from Oklahoma and elsewhere. The center plans to expand and develop its archives further, to make them of national scope and national importance.

A center devoted exclusively to the study of Congress will be of great importance to scholars and to the general public. It will serve

a valuable congressional purpose. I am convinced that the low esteem shown for Congress in public opinion polls stems in large part from the public's lack of understanding of the way this confusing, seemingly chaotic, multiheaded branch of Government goes about serving the public's interest.

The Presidency has one person at the top. It is relatively easy to understand. The press naturally focuses on it. As a result, attention to the legislative branch suffers. Improving congressional archives through efforts such as these will help stimulate scholars to write more about the institution, and it will thereby help dispel the ignorance that lies behind so much of the public cynicism that is showing up in the polls.

Yes, I agree that student aid is important, but there is always something that will seem more important, more pressing and more immediately necessary than the serious study of the role of our political institutions.

In weighing the relative balance, which I cannot do for any elected member, I just think it is worth bearing in mind that what this bill calls for is a matching fund authorization that averages out to about $500,000 a year, which compares to seven-figure appropriations made every year for each Presidential library.

Now, one of the most attractive features of the Carl Albert Center is the manner in which it draws its historical and its scholarly academic missions together. I think it is clear that the public has been well served by the way the LBJ and the Kennedy Libraries at the University of Texas and Harvard University do this same thing.

The Carl Albert Center is more than a resource for scholars. It is a teaching center that has students and faculty in residence to take advantage of the resources and to use them in their writing and their studies. Its academic program is the only one in the country at the Ph. D. level that focuses on Congress. This unique program should be fostered and it should be encouraged.

It was my privilege last year to visit the Carl Albert Center to conduct a symposium for its students. It is very clear to one who visits the center and sees its potential first-hand that this is an enterprise that has already shown a great deal of promise. This is not something that you are being asked to fund from scratch.

The center's archives and physical plant are already impressive. Its students are eager, interested, and informed. The staff is dedicated and professional. Certainly, when compared to other academic institutions previously supported by Congress, the Carl Albert Center can stand up with any of them by comparison both in terms of the solid base already established and in terms of the appropriateness of it as an object of congressional interest.

I thank you.

Senator STAFFORD. Thank you very much, Dr. Malbin.

Dr. Leuchtenburg, we would be very happy to hear from you now. We note that you are from the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars at the Smithsonian Institution.

Dr. LEUCHTENBURG. Thank you. I am William Rand Kenan, Jr., professor of history at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. I have taught for more than 30 years at Columbia University, where I have held the chair of De Witt Clinton professor. I have

also taught at Smith College, Harvard, New York University, and was Harmsworth professor at Oxford. I recently completed a term as president of the Society of American Historians. I am the author of a number of books and articles on 20th century American history, and I am now under contract to write the final volume covering the period from 1945 to the present of the multivolume Oxford History of the United States.

In the course of research for these books, I have consulted hundreds of manuscript collections, particularly those of Members of Congress. I have literally been to archives from Maine to California, from Florida to the State of Washington.

As one consequence of that experience, I served for 2 years as the representative of the American Historical Association on the Public Documents Commission, created by Congress in response to the Nixon-Sampson agreement. I had the honor of serving with two Members of the U.S. Senate on that Commission—one a member of this committee, Senator Weicker.

In the course of more than 30 years of research on congressional papers, I have never been to any archive that impressed me more than that of the University of Oklahoma. I testified to that fact to the Conference on the Papers of U.S. Senators held here in September 1978, and I welcome the opportunity to be able to reiterate that today.

Three things have especially impressed me about the manuscripts archive at the University of Oklahoma. One is the thoroughness with which it has sought to secure the papers of every Member of the House and Senate from Oklahoma, including, and especially, those whose service has been quite recent. In that respect, this enterprise has served as a model for other archives to emulate.

Second is the care with which it has prepared guides to its holdings. I do not know if Oklahoma is the first archive actually to prepare a detailed book on its holdings, but it is the first with which I am familiar and it was exceptionally well done.

The third is the very helpful way in which it treats scholars. I can attest to this both from personal observation at Norman, where I was delighted by the cordiality shown to me and by the high quality of its professional staff, and from the most responsive manner in which the archive has acted upon my written requests. I have had occasion to benefit from this as recently as this past week with respect to the papers of Helen Gahagan Douglas.

The Carl Albert Center appears to have the richest holding of papers of Members of Congress at any university in this country, and it has combined its manuscript archive with a unique program of congressional studies. I very much hope that it will be possible to authorize support for the center so that its valuable work may continue to grow and to flourish.

Senator STAFFORD. Thank you very much, Doctor. The Chair has to feel that the intellectual qualities and the articulation abilities of this panel are almost as overwhelming as the Oklahoma football teams usually seem to be. I am personally much impressed.

For the subcommittee, in the light of all of the other activities, including debate on a constitutional amendment, that are going on this morning, I would like to reserve the right of members when

they have reviewed the record to submit questions in writing, if that is agreeable, gentlemen, for your response in writing.

I realize that we are discussing something that is a bit unique in its application to the Congress. I think the record should show, though, that some other highly desirable programs are currently having to go, under our economic stress, without funding.

This year, for example, grants to the Eisenhower College, grants to the Samuel Rayburn Library, appropriations to Herbert Hoover's memorial, appropriations to the Wayne Morse Chair of Law, the Everett Dirksen Center, the Hubert H. Humphrey Institute, the Robert A. Taft Institute of Government, the General Daniel James Memorial Health Education Center, and the William Levi Dawson Chair of Public Affairs, are all unfunded in 1982 because of difficult circumstances we face financially here on Capitol Hill. Again, I stress that the Chair appreciates that these are not directed toward a study of the Congress.

Dr. PETERS. Mr. Chairman?

Senator STAFFORD. Yes?

Dr. PETERS. Would it be possible to make a comment on the statement you have just made in the way of correcting the record?

Senator STAFFORD. Certainly.

Dr. PETERS. I am not aware of the fact, although I stand prepared to be corrected, that the Humphrey School or the Dirksen Center stand eligible for any Federal appropriations. They received their entire appropriations in 1978. It is the case that the General James Memorial, the Taft Institute, and the Dawson Chair were capped at zero under Gramm-Latta II.

However, I think it is worth noting that the General Daniel James Memorial now forms a part of the administration's fiscal 1983 budget request in the amount of $9 million, and that in the administration's fiscal 1983 budget request is also included a reauthorization for the Wayne Morse Chair.

Senator STAFFORD. The Chair was talking about appropriations, where applicable, and this information is from the Congressional Research Service, which I hope is reasonably accurate.

Dr. Peters, I did have just one question, and that is Congressman McCurdy in his testimony stated that $350,000 was the amount actually sought for the next fiscal year for the center. Was that an accurate figure?

Dr. PETERS. The Congressman made reference to the fact that if this legislation were passed into law, we would be eligible for Federal matching funds up to $3 million for any funds that we have raised. To date, the center has commitments for $350,000. Therefore, that would be the maximum amount for which we would be eligible during fiscal 1983.

Senator STAFFORD. Thank you very much.

I am very happy that my colleague from Oklahoma, the most able Senator Nickles, is here with me. He is a member of this committee.

Senator, do you have any statement or any questions?

Senator NICKLES. Possibly just a brief question or two.

To follow up on that, Professor Peters, if the money raised were less, then this would be a matching amount only up to that. So, if

the university only raised $350,000 or if they raised $1 million, this would match up to that amount, but not to exceed that amount?

Dr. PETERS. That is correct.

Senator NICKLES. And the time period for this was over 3 years or 5 years?

Dr. PETERS. In the House-passed bill, the period of authorization extends for fiscal 1983 and the next 6 succeeding years; that is to say through fiscal 1989. In the Senate version of the bill, which was the bill we had originally submitted, there was also a 7-year authorization period. However, because of the early date, that reads fiscal 1981 and the next 6 succeeding years.

It would be our hope that the House version would prevail, and therefore we are talking about a 7-year period of authorization, fiscal 1983 through fiscal 1989.

Senator NICKLES. Basically, that gives the university time to raise more money?

Dr. PETERS. Well, we had two thoughts in mind, that being one and the other being our sensitivity to the current fiscal situation and our belief that this would give the Congress itself more flexibility in funding the project, should it come to that.

Senator NICKLES. I will ask this question to any of our panelists. Like the chairman, I would congratulate our panelists for having very qualified academic backgrounds on this area.

We have a vote, and that means we will have to wrap this up very quickly. But are the current papers being used? We have 40 sets of congressional papers at the University of Oklahoma. Are those being used by the population or the people of Oklahoma today?

Dr. PETERS. Well, the answer, obviously, is yes. We respond to approximately 700 research requests each year that might come to us through the mail or over the telephone. In addition to that, in a typical year 50 or 60 persons might come from inside or outside of the State to use the archive. Those figures would not include the use made by students at the University of Oklahoma, which we do not keep track of with much precision.

Senator NICKLES. Professor Rundell?

Dr. RUNDELL. I would like to reiterate what Professor Leuchtenburg said here. Having a long acquaintance with this resource at the University of Oklahoma, I know that the scholarly community—American historians and political scientists—are aware of this resource at Norman and make use of it as appropriate. It is used by scholars regularly from outside the State.

Senator NICKLES. Professor, you are an archivist and you mentioned your many varied capacities in that regard. We have found that the Library of Congress currently has the papers of something like 900 Members of Congress. Are those being used?

Dr. RUNDELL. Yes, they are. There is no question about that. That, of course, constitutes the largest single repository of congressional papers in the Nation—the manuscript division.

Senator NICKLES. Do they put those on microfilm and are they available to the general population and the public as well? .

Dr. RUNDELL. Not on microfilm. There has been a microfilming program of all the Presidential papers in the manuscript division; that is complete. But I am not aware of any microfilming of con-

gressional papers there. Of course, any qualified citizen is free to use the material here in the Madison Building.

Senator NICKLES. Thank you all very much.

Mr. Chairman, just possibly a brief comment on this subject; I have wrestled with this issue because, philosophically it has been counter to many of the things that we have been trying to do to limit Federal spending.

I think it was mentioned by Professor Peters that in Gramm-Latta II there was included legislation that we would not authorize similar types of programs, or would not appropriate funds for existing authorizations that are very similar.

I have also talked to the chairman of the Appropriations Committee and he has indicated to me his reluctance to fund this type of center. All of this it makes me somewhat reluctant. That does not mean in any way that I do not have the greatest respect for Carl Albert as a very distinguished member of the Oklahoma delegation, who was Speaker of the House, as everyone is well aware, and who represented the State of Oklahoma quite notably for some time. He spent his life in Congress. So, in no way does that have any diminution as far as his respect throughout Oklahoma.

Concerning this particular bill, I think my recommendation to the full committee would be that we would not move on it. First and foremost would be because of the financial aspect. We are currently looking at deficits which range anywhere from $110 billion by some estimates to $140 billion. In my opinion, this represents an enormous liability to place on our children. I think we have a responsibility to look at every single place we can to cut Federal spending where it is not desperately needed. I would think that this particular project would fall in that category.

I realize that this is not an appropriation and that it is only an authorization, and many people say, well, there is no damage done by authorizing the center. Perhaps that is true, with the exception that it might be a little misleading to people in Oklahoma who would be potential contributors and who might be contributing on the idea of, "Well, yes, we have a $3 million fund-raising project," when in reality, they quite possibly might have to raise twice as much.

As was pointed out by Senator Stafford, the chairman, many other similar types of projects have not been funded for last year or for many years. So, it is quite likely that even if the authorization did pass, the funds would not be forthcoming, and therefore people who are contributing with the idea that there would be a Federal match and the Federal match did not come might be mislead.

I also have some reservations as far as the role between Federal and State, although I do realize that there is a Federal connection with the study of Congress. But, Mr. Peters, how many of the 40 papers are Oklahoma papers?

Dr. PETERS. Thirty-six.

Senator NICKLES. So, it is predominantly Oklahoma papers that are stored there. I realize that you would be seeking and soliciting others. How many sets of papers can you process a year?

Dr. PETERS. Well, that depends upon how much money we raise.

Senator NICKLES. It is quite an enormous task, though.

Dr. PETERS. It is a heavily labor-intensive task, and that is why we need money if we are going to expand this in the direction of becoming a national repository.

Senator NICKLES. I served in the State legislature. The State legislature happens to have a surplus at the time that the Federal Government does not. The State has put in how much money to date in this?

Dr. PETERS. Well, our budget for fiscal 1982–83 is approximately $300,000 a year; that is an annual budget.

Senator NICKLES. Was the State going to match this, or was the 3 million going to be strictly Federal and private?

Dr. PETERS. The bill makes eligible any contributions to our endowment which would be made by the State of Oklahoma, but it does not make eligible matching for the appropriated funds that are provided for our basic administrative overhead.

Senator NICKLES. So, then, the State would not be coming in on that?

Dr. PETERS. The State could come in if it were to appropriate a specific endowment contribution, but only under those circumstances.

Senator NICKLES. But, to date, they have not elected to do so?

Dr. PETERS. They have not done that to date.

Senator NICKLES. Mr. Chairman, you and I have sat through hearings trying to turn back more responsibility for education to the States, which I happen to heartily endorse, and I would like to be somewhat philosophically consistent with that approach.

I also have some concerns about the merits of the bill even if it were implemented. There is some question in my mind as to how valuable it is to collect and archive each and every paper of Members of Congress. We turn out tons of mail, to collect it all could be an enormous task.

On the fellowships, I think you mentioned that it is against State law to use State appropriations for fellowships. This is probably a wise policy, and one which the Federal Government might adopt.

I am in hopes that if the State wishes to pursue this, they will take a more active and aggressive role in the appropriations and authorizations on the State level. And as far as recognition of the Speaker, if they so desire it would certainly please me if they wanted to recognize the Speaker by naming a building after him or some type of fellowship on the State level. I think that would be very, very commendable. Thank you.

Senator STAFFORD. Thank you very much, Senator. I suppose the judgment of each of us on the worth of our papers is rather a subjective thing for 535 Members to make.

In any event, I want to express the subcommittee's appreciation to all of you for helping us examine this problem here this morning. There may be some questions in writing. Thanks again.

[Material supplied for the record follows:]

TESTIMONY OF

CONGRESSMAN WES WATKINS

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION, ARTS AND HUMANITIES

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES

U. S. SENATE

August 4, 1982

Mr. Chairman:

I would like to take this opportunity to encourage the Subcommittee's support of legislation to authorize federal funds for the "Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center." As you know, legislation to this effect is embodied in H.R. 3598, which passed the House by voice vote under suspension of the rules on November 4 of last year.

The Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center is named after a Rhodes Scholar, statesman and former Speaker of the House, the Honorable Carl Albert. I am fortunate enough to have been granted the opportunity to succeed Speaker Albert in representing the Third Congressional District of Oklahoma. Speaker Albert rose from humble beginnings in Bugtussle, Oklahoma, to the third highest office in the land, becoming the "little giant" from "Little Dixie," southeastern Oklahoma. I have known Carl all my life, and

I can think of no better way to honor this great man and simultaneously stimulate study of the process of which he is so much a part -- Congress itself -- than to support the efforts already begun at the Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center.

The Carl Albert Center possesses a one-of-a-kind mission -- to provide instruction, scholarship and resources related to the United States Congress. It already houses the largest collection of Congressional papers in our nation, including those of over 40 U.S. senators and congressmen. This congressional archive has the capacity of becoming a tremendous national resource for congressional scholars.

In addition to its historical preservation of congressional papers, the Carl Albert Center sponsors the development of academic programs at both the graduate and undergraduate levels in congressional studies. This educational function involves classroom instruction, the sponsorship of conferences and lectures and related outreach programs. These various aspects of the Center's mission create a very unique program -- one of benefit to our entire nation.

Federal support of the Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center is practically mandated, it possesses such a great potential for becoming a source of massive educational, research and resource information relative to the U.S. Congress. Since the Center's foundation in 1979, its National Advisory Board has attracted the support of many prominent members and former members of Congress, political scientists and historians. Serving on the Board are such prominent political leaders as former President Gerald R. Ford, former Oklahoma Governor and Senator Henry Bellmon, Speaker of the House Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., Senator David Boren, House Majority Leader James C. Wright, Jr., and Congressmen John Brademus, John J. Rhodes and

Thomas J. Steed. These and many other nationally known figures recognize the importance of the Carl Albert Center's mission -- a mission that is worthy of federal financial support.

The federal funds provided the Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center in the legislation pending before your Subcommittee would help ensure the development of a tremendous national resource. I urge your support of this legislation, and encourage you to favorably report it out for consideration by the full Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

Thank you for your consideration.

Senator STAFFORD. The subcommittee stands adjourned.
[Whereupon, at 11:12 a.m., the subcommittee was adjourned.]

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